

**Envisioning Change: Examining Environmental  
Amenities and Disamenities in the Southern Sector of  
Dallas, Texas**

by

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## **ABSTRACT**

Environmental justice is understood as the disproportionate distribution of environmental harms, primarily in low-income communities of color. Much of the literature on environmental justice focuses on impacted communities' problems rather than their unique strengths. In this sense, the literature would imply that these communities are victims of environmental injustice, rather than active agents of change. However, Paul Quinn College—a small historically black college in the Southern Sector of Dallas, Texas—has begun to challenge this narrative by innovating solutions to the environmental problem it is facing. By converting its football field into a community farm, Paul Quinn College aims to address the food access issue within the broader Highland Hills community.

In this master's project, I use Paul Quinn College and the Highland Hills community as a case study. I ask, what environmental amenities and disamenities does the Highland Hills community possess? How can Paul Quinn College harness these amenities to overcome the burden of environmental disamenities? I hypothesize that Paul Quinn College can serve as an environmental leader and facilitate sustainable development in the Southern Sector of Dallas.

In this study, I employ participant observation methods, as well as focus groups with community members and Paul Quinn College students, faculty, and staff, to gather qualitative data. To analyze this data, I use NVivo software, with a focus on identifying environmental amenities and disamenities in Highland Hills. Through my analysis, I find that Highland Hills is a hotspot for undesirable land uses and environmental harms. Despite what the environmental literature may suggest, the Highland Hills community also possesses a bounty of environmental amenities. Barriers to sustainable development exist. However, Paul Quinn College can play a strategic role in the future, convening community leaders, developers, and Dallas decision-makers.

This master's project represents the first stage of a multi-stage research partnership between the Nicholas School of the Environment at Duke University and Paul Quinn College. The results are intended to inform future research and may contribute to the creation of a sustainable development plan for Highland Hills in the future.

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## INTRODUCTION

On the morning of September 21, 2011, fifty people assembled outside of City Hall in Dallas, Texas. The demonstrators carried signs that read, “Groceries Not Garbage,” and “Stand Up Highland Hills.” As they marched, they chanted, “One, two, three, four, we want a grocery store! Five, six, seven, eight, we don’t want your waste!” Emblazoned on their t-shirts was their rallying cry: “I am not trash” (Hargrove 2011). For the second time in two weeks, these demonstrators, students and professors from Paul Quinn College—a historically black college located in the Southern Sector of Dallas—along with local community members, gathered to protest the City Council’s decision regarding Dallas’ waste stream (Gasman 2011). The City Council’s passed a measure that would redirect the waste from private haulers to the McCommas Bluff Landfill, essentially doubling the landfill’s annual waste stream in an effort to increase city revenues (Watson 2011).



**Protestors march outside Dallas City Hall opposing the expansion of the McCommas Bluff Landfill in September, 2011. Image from the *Dallas Observer*.**

Located in the Highland Hills neighborhood, just a half-mile from Paul Quinn College, McCommas Bluff Landfill would become the largest landfill in the country with the flow control ordinance (“Paul Quinn College,” 2011). Along with the landfill,

Highland Hills is within close proximity to several other locally undesirable land uses, including numerous heavy industrial sites and a federal prison. Further, the neighborhood lacks the resources and services that many other neighborhoods throughout Dallas enjoy. Highland Hills is considered a food desert neighborhood, because it lacks a proper grocery store, and instead has a number of convenience stores and fast food restaurants. The neighborhood has higher than average rates of poverty compared to the national average. According to the 2010 Census, over thirty percent of people in Highland Hills live below the poverty level, including more than fifty-two percent of children under eighteen years old, compared with national averages of sixteen percent and twenty percent, respectively (United States Census Bureau). Thus, Highland Hills can best be understood as community that, despite latent assets, is under-resourced. Highland Hills and other neighborhoods in the Southern Sector of Dallas stand in stark contrast to the wealthier North Dallas.

With this context in mind, demonstrators from Paul Quinn College gathered to protest the flow control measure. Their central demand was that the city creates a citizen-led taskforce to address the landfill issue. However, that morning in September, the City Council voted down the taskforce by a vote of eight to seven (Gasman 2011). In an op-ed in the *Dallas News*, Paul Quinn College students reacted to recent the City Council decisions, asserting that “[w]hat we have heard thus far from our elected officials is that we are not worth more than trash (Bowens et al., 2011).” The students asked, why does the City give us garbage but they will not give us a grocery store? The students continued pursuing the landfill issue, organizing a march called “We Are Not Trash.” They marched from the Southern Sector north toward Downtown Dallas to bridge the divide

between the under-resourced Southern Sector and the wealthy North Dallas. As Paul Quinn student leader Dexter Evans explained, “[T]his generation is no longer willing to adhere to the geographic, economic, and mental boundaries of our elders.” Dexter added, “There is only one Dallas, and citizens of that city deserve effective representative leadership and reasonable access to safe and affordable food (‘Paul Quinn College,’ 2011).

Paul Quinn College activists’ rallying cry, “I am not trash,” hearkens back to the Memphis Sanitation Workers Strike of 1968, arguably the birthplace of the modern environmental justice movement. The protestors famously held signs declaring, “I am a man,” asserting their humanity in the face of injustice. In this sense, the environmental justice movement and scholarly work has grown out of the civil rights movement (‘Memphis Sanitation Workers Strike (1968),’ 2008).



**Protestors during the Memphis Sanitation Workers Strike of 1968 declare, “I am a man.” Image from Stanford University.**

The Highland Hills case highlights a continuing struggle in the environmental justice movement. When faced with environmental disamenities and a general lack of resources, how do communities grow and develop sustainably? What role can an HBCU such as Paul Quinn College serve in the community to advance sustainable development?

In light of these questions, Paul Quinn College president Michael Sorrell contacted Duke University researchers to develop a research partnership. This project represents the initial data gathering to support this research partnership.

I will begin this paper with a literature review of environmental justice scholarship, including how the community leadership of Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) may contribute to rectifying environmental injustices. Then, I will describe the methods of research, and present and discuss the results of my analysis. Finally, I will present concluding thoughts on this research project and recommendations for further research.

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

### ***Environmental Justice***

Over the past two decades, a vast body of research on environmental justice in the U.S. has indicated that environmental hazards, from toxic waste to polluting industries, are disproportionately concentrated in low-income communities of color (Bullard 2000, Bullard et al., 2007, McGurty, 2007). For example, in host neighborhoods of commercial hazardous waste facilities, people of color comprise fifty-six percent of the population, compared with thirty percent in non-host neighborhoods. Further, poverty rates in host neighborhoods are eighteen percent on average, compared with twelve percent in non-host neighborhoods. A 2005 study from the Associated Press found that African Americans are seventy-nine percent more likely than white Americans to live in areas where industrial pollution is assumed to be the greatest health threat (Bullard et al., 2007). In addition to the distribution of environmental harms, environmental regulations and programs, such as Superfund site cleanups, are often unevenly enforced across

communities (Bullard et al., 2007). Thus, environmental justice can be understood in terms of both distributional justice and procedural justice. While causation of environmental injustice is difficult to prove, it is hypothesized that communities that lack the resources to effectively engage with local politics are often burdened the most (Cole and Foster, 2001).

Increasingly, environmental justice has risen to the national policy agenda. In response to grassroots activism and mounting scientific research, the EPA created the National Environmental Justice Advisory Council, which brings together representatives from community associations, educational institutions, industry, and local government to innovate solutions to environmental justice issues. Further, in 1994, President Clinton issued Executive Order 12898, which aims to address environmental injustice within existing federal regulations. The efficacy of these federal measures has been debated, and many scholars argue that environmental justice remains a pressing issue today (Bullard et al., 2007).

### ***HBCUs as Community Leaders***

Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) have a rich history of educating African American students and developing community leadership. From the decades after the Civil War up until the mid-1960s, HBCUs were established with the intent to educate African American students. The federal Freedman's Bureau founded many of these institutions, with the support of white abolitionists and Northern donors, as did African Americans in the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Today, some HBCUs remain religiously affiliated while others are not. Some institutions are private and others public, some financially well endowed and many others struggling (Gasman, n.d.).



Roughly one hundred HBCUs in the United States and the U.S. Virgin Islands, representing less than three percent of higher education institutions, enroll more than ten percent of African American college students. However, enrollment has declined in many cases. Prior to integration in the 1960s, HBCUs were virtually the only higher education option for African American students. Today, however, HBCUs find themselves competing with other educational institutions for enrollment. In addition, the demographics of students have begun to shift, as more Latino and white students enroll in these institutions (Gasman, n.d.). Despite the changes HBCUs are experiencing today, they continue to remain important to higher education and community development.

Beyond their educational role, HBCUs serve as engines of community service and economic development. The 2006 study, “Economic Impact of the Nation’s Historically Black Colleges and Universities,” by the National Center for Educational Statistics, indicated that HBCUs spend over six billion dollars annually in their communities (Humphreys and Korb, 2006). Further, HBCUs bring a total of 180,000 jobs, generating a labor income impact of four billion dollars. HBCUs produce more than half of African American professionals and schoolteachers (Thurgood Marshall Fund, 2012).

Even as HBCUs demonstrate community leadership, their environments often challenge them. In the U.S., ninety-four out of one hundred and five HBCUs are located census tracts that are classified as highly distressed.<sup>1</sup> Many of the neighborhoods in which HBCUs are situated have inadequate housing, high unemployment, and elevated crime rates. These neighborhoods tend to lack decent secondary schools and sufficient

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<sup>1</sup> According to CohnReznick, census tracts are defined as highly distressed if they meet at least one of the following criteria: a poverty rate greater than thirty percent; a median family income of sixty percent or less of that area’s median family income; or an unemployment rate at least one and a half times the national average (CohnReznick, 2014).

social services (Gallagher, n.d.). In addition to these social and economic issues, environmental issues impact many of these communities as well. Research demonstrates that many HBCUs are located near brownfields (Bullard et al., 2007).

Despite the environmental justice challenges they face in their communities, many HBCUs are dedicated to addressing environmental justice issues through research and civic engagement. Currently, four research centers on environmental justice are housed in HBCUs: the Environmental Justice Resource Center at Clark Atlanta University, the Deep South Center for Environmental Justice at Dillard University, the Environmental Law and Justice Center at Texas Southern University Thurgood Marshall School of Law, and the Center for Environmental Justice and Equity at Florida A&M University (Johnson and Rainey, 2007). In addition to research, environmental justice issues also inspire student activism, as evidenced by HBCU students' responses to Hurricane Katrina (Johnson and Rainey, 2007).

In light of this, our research project examines how HBCUs can exercise environmental leadership to address environmental justice concerns. A prime example of an HBCU as an environmental leader is Paul Quinn College.

### ***Paul Quinn College and the Highland Hills Community***

Much of the literature on environmental justice focuses on impacted communities' problems rather than their agency or unique strengths. In this sense, the literature would imply that these communities are victims of environmental injustice, rather than active agents of change. However, Paul Quinn College has begun to challenge this narrative by innovating solutions to the environmental problems they are facing. As previously discussed, the Paul Quinn community was instrumental in organizing the "We

Are Not Trash” movement against the expansion of the McCommas Bluff landfill. Ultimately, in 2010, a federal judge blocked the expansion of the landfill permanently (Bush, 2012), a success for Paul Quinn. The College has also demonstrated leadership in addressing local food access. In 2010, Paul Quinn eliminated its football program and converted its football field into a sustainable farm, called the We-Over-Me Farm (Hamilton, 2011). The farm employs students and provides fresh produce to the cafeteria and to the local community. Paul Quinn President Michael Sorrell hopes the farm will attract grocery stores and restaurants to Highland Hills, and he has high aspirations for the community. Sorrell aims to catalyze sustainable development in the Southern Sector of Dallas, and he has begun a research partnership with the Nicholas School at Duke University to help achieve this vision. This research represents the first phase of this multi-phase research partnership.



**Formerly a football field, the We-Over-Me Farm at Paul Quinn College now grows food and employs students. Image from the *New York Times*.**

In the next sections, I will present my research questions and hypotheses.

First, however, I will begin by defining my terms.

## **DEFINITIONS**

In this section, I will define several of the key terms that are used in this research project. First, I am defining the environment broadly, borrowing from the First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit, which defined the environment as, “where we live, work, play, worship, and go to school,” (Bullard, n.d.). This definition includes both the natural and the built environments. Second, I am defining environmental amenities as tangible and intangible elements of the environment that contribute to quality of life. Examples of tangible environmental amenities include green space, grocery stores, and community organizations. Examples of intangible environmental amenities could include a sense of stewardship or a feeling of serenity. Conversely, environmental disamenities are defined as the tangible and intangible elements of the environment that detract from quality of life. Tangible environmental disamenities include landfills, fast food restaurants, and vacant lots, while intangible environmental disamenities include lack of security. Further, communities may have environmental disamenities present or they may lack adequate environmental amenities to foster high quality of life. Finally, I am using Gallagher’s (2012) definition of environmental leadership as a “process by which Earth’s inhabitants apply interpersonal influence and engage in collective action to protect the planet’s natural resources and its inhabitants from further harm.” These terms, the environment, environmental amenities, environmental disamenities, and environmental leadership, will be used to inform our research questions, which we outline in the following section.

## **RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

As previously discussed, much of the environmental justice literature focuses on environmental disamenities—in other words, what resources impacted communities lack.

However, there is a dearth of research examining what unique environmental amenities these communities possess. Using Paul Quinn College and the Highland Hills community as a case study, I ask, what environmental disamenities exist within the Highland Hills community, and what environmental amenities does the Highland Hills community possess? How can Paul Quinn College harness these amenities to overcome the burden of environmental disamenities? Throughout this paper, I will aim to address these questions.

### **HYPOTHESES**

Based on these research questions, I have generated several hypotheses. First, I anticipate that the Highland Hills community has a host of environmental disamenities, making the neighborhood an environmental justice hotspot. Second, I hypothesize that, despite what the environmental justice literature may suggest, the Highland Hills community possesses a bounty of environmental amenities. Finally, I expect that Paul Quinn College can serve as an environmental leader within the Highland Hills community. Through my analysis, I will test these three hypotheses. In the next section, I will introduce my research methods and data.

### **FOCUS GROUP METHODS**

I used a single case study to explore community understandings of environmental amenities and disamenities within the Highland Hills neighborhood of Dallas, Texas. A case study is defined as “an intensive study of a single unit with an aim to generalize across a larger set of units.” Here, the unit of analysis is the Highland Hills community. In particular, this case study highlights the role of Paul Quinn College as an environmental leader within the Highland Hills community. Results from this case study can be used in the future to generalize the role of HBCUs as environmental leaders within

their communities. In order to gather data about amenities and disamenities in the Highland Hills community, we used focus groups. Morgan (1996) defines focus groups as a “research technique that collects data through group interaction on a topic determined by the researcher.” Focus groups are used across many disciplines. Sociologists often use focus groups in an effort to “ ‘give a voice’ to marginalized groups.” Focus groups were chosen for this study because, unlike other methods, they require participants to interact with one another, thus shedding light on complex behaviors and motivations. This method also allows for comparisons of consensus within and across groups. One drawback of focus groups is that the moderator may influence the direction of the conversation.

Five researchers from the Nicholas School of the Environment at Duke University were involved in this study: Dr. Deborah Gallagher, Dr. Rebecca Vidra, doctoral student Danielle Purifoy, master’s student Emma Hedman, and master’s student Christa Owens. Our research team received a grant from the National Fish and Wildlife Foundation and Wells Fargo, which allowed us to travel to Dallas, Texas to conduct focus groups during October 2013. Together, we conducted five focus groups, each having between two to eleven participants. We used a semi-structured interview format (see Appendix A for a list of interview questions) alternated moderating each focus group, such that two or three of us were present at each focus group. Michael Sorrell, President of Paul Quinn College, identified potential focus group participants based on their community engagement, and Danielle Purifoy invited participants (see Appendix B for respondent letter). The focus groups were held at Paul Quinn College campus and the Highland Hills Public Library on October 11, 12, and 13, 2013. Of the 30 focus group participants, eleven were Paul Quinn

College faculty and staff, eight were Paul Quinn College students, nine were Highland Hills community members, and two were community supporters (advocates for the neighborhood but not current or past residents) of the Highland Hills community (see Table 1). Participants signed consent agreements (see Appendix C), and they remain anonymous in this study.

The focus groups were primarily recorded using a digital device, and were supplemented by handwritten notes as well.<sup>2</sup> The recordings were transcribed and then analyzed using NVivo, a qualitative data analysis software that allows researchers to uncover patterns and relationships between data. Specifically, I identified common themes throughout the focus groups and used a text search query to manually code the data (see Appendix D for coding summary). Then, I categorized the results and analyzed them to reveal areas of consensus and divergence among participants.

**Table 1. Summary of Focus Group Participation**

	<b>Participants</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Location</b>
<b>Focus Group 1</b>	11 Paul Quinn College faculty and staff	October 11, 2013	Paul Quinn College
<b>Focus Group 2</b>	1 Highland Hills community member and 1 supporter	October 11, 2013	Paul Quinn College
<b>Focus Group 3</b>	6 Highland Hills community members and 1 supporter	October 12, 2013	Highland Hills Public Library
<b>Focus Group 4</b>	2 Highland Hills community members	October 12, 2013	Highland Hills Public Library
<b>Focus Group 5</b>	8 Paul Quinn College students	October 13, 2013	Paul Quinn College

### ***Focus Group Challenges***

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<sup>2</sup> The first focus group was not recorded properly due to a technical problem with the recording device. The research team relied on limited handwritten notes for our analysis. Therefore, data from the first focus group is somewhat limited.

We faced several challenges in conducting the focus groups. First and foremost, we had difficulty securing participants in our study. Michael Sorrell identified potential participants, and Danielle Purifoy invited them to participate. Perhaps because we did not know any of the potential participants personally, people were reluctant to participate in our study. We intended to have additional focus groups that included local business leaders and elected officials, but ultimately, we did not garner enough participants to hold these focus groups.

Furthermore, we faced challenges in actually conducting the focus groups. In the third focus group in particular, there was tension between the Highland Hills community members and the researchers. Many participants were reluctant to sign the consent forms until they understood exactly how the results of the study would be used. Fortunately, Dr. Gallagher was able to navigate the situation and convey to the participants that our research team is committed to a long-term partnership with Paul Quinn College and the Highland Hills community. Later during the third focus group, participants described their reservations about participating in the study. First, participants perceived researchers to be outsiders in their community, and second, participants were concerned that they would not benefit from the study. One community member indicated that she was unhappy with outsider researchers entering her community, stating:

I don't appreciate the fact that we allow people from across the world to come over and tell me [what the issues are in my community]. I've been in this area for forty-seven years. I came to Dallas in 1965 from Atlanta, Georgia with SCLC [Southern Christian Leadership Conference]. I've worked civil rights since I was in the eleventh grade in high school. Why do we allow it?

Based on this quotation, it seems that this community member is concerned that her community is elevating outside experts' knowledge, rather than to the local knowledge of



Highland Hills residents. Moreover, participants were concerned that the research would not benefit their community. One community member explained:

“[S]ometimes when we are somewhat reluctant – well, I am – when I hear focus group, because I don’t necessarily see anything but collecting of information. And that’s where it stops....[W]e already know where we need things. We need to find people that’s going to help us get it. That’s what I’d like to hear. How are we going to be able, once we have collected the information, who is going to be the driving force to help it come.”

A second community member in the third focus group agreed with this sentiment, saying, “We’ve had study after study after study after study, so with all the studies we know there’s a problem.” A third community member added, “[I]f we seem a little bit cross from time to time, it’s probably because we’re tired of studies. No results from it.” Thus, community members in the third focus group were concerned that Highland Hills was frequently the subject of studies, though it did not benefit directly from these studies’ findings. With these challenges in mind, I will describe the results from the focus groups in the next section.

## **FOCUS GROUP RESULTS**

Results from the five focus groups reveal several common themes, which are summarized in Table 2 (below). This section will examine the results in greater detail, highlighting six key topics: community demographics, the natural environment, the built environment, food access, and economic development. Based on this data, I will analyze the environmental amenities and disamenities in Highland Hills. Before exploring these topics, I will begin by defining physical boundaries of the Highland Hills neighborhood.

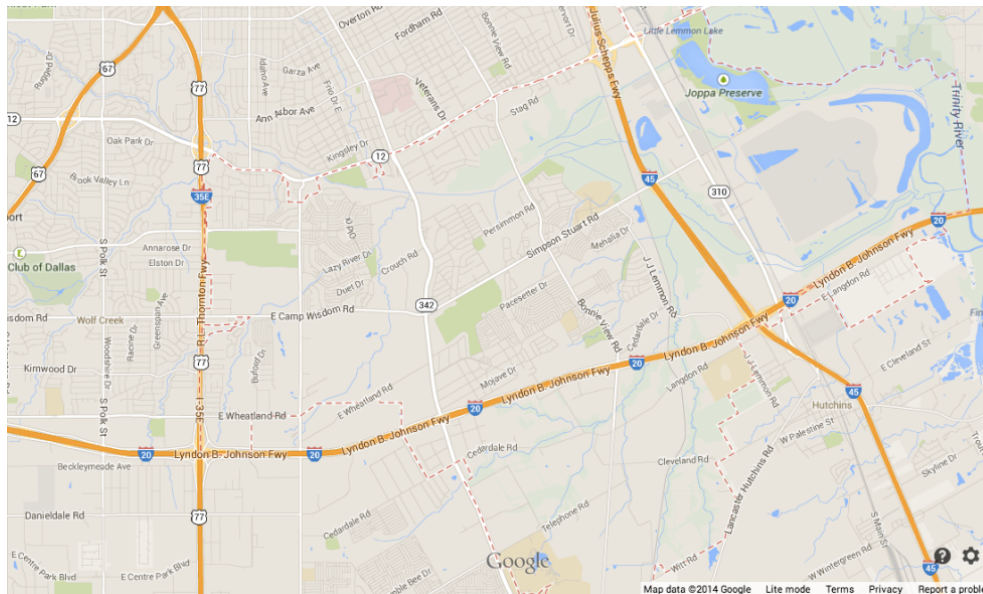
**Table 2. Summary of Themes by Focus Group, in order of Prevalence**

	<b>Participants</b>	<b>Themes</b>
<b>Focus Group 1</b>	Paul Quinn College faculty and staff	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Safety</li> <li>• Housing stock</li> <li>• Transportation</li> <li>• Food access</li> <li>• Green space</li> <li>• Churches</li> <li>• Stray dogs</li> <li>• Changing community demographics</li> </ul>
<b>Focus Group 2</b>	Highland Hills community member and supporter	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lack of development</li> <li>• Stray dogs</li> <li>• Need to re-brand the community</li> <li>• Distinction between North and South Dallas</li> <li>• Poverty</li> <li>• Landscape</li> <li>• Prostitution, sex offenders</li> <li>• Churches</li> <li>• Housing stock</li> </ul>
<b>Focus Group 3</b>	Highland Hills community members and supporter	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lack of development</li> <li>• Food access</li> <li>• Need to re-brand the community</li> <li>• Housing stock</li> <li>• Distinction between North and South Dallas</li> <li>• Landscape</li> <li>• Poverty</li> </ul>
<b>Focus Group 4</b>	Highland Hills community members	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lack of development</li> <li>• Food access</li> <li>• Distinction between North and South Dallas</li> <li>• Poverty</li> <li>• Landscape</li> <li>• Need to re-brand the community</li> <li>• Transportation</li> <li>• Churches</li> <li>• Housing stock</li> <li>• Safety</li> </ul>
<b>Focus Group 5</b>	Paul Quinn College students	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Distinction between North and South Dallas</li> <li>• Landfill</li> <li>• Lack of development</li> <li>• Food access</li> <li>• Need to re-brand the community</li> <li>• Landscape</li> <li>• Poverty</li> <li>• Transportation</li> <li>• Churches</li> </ul>

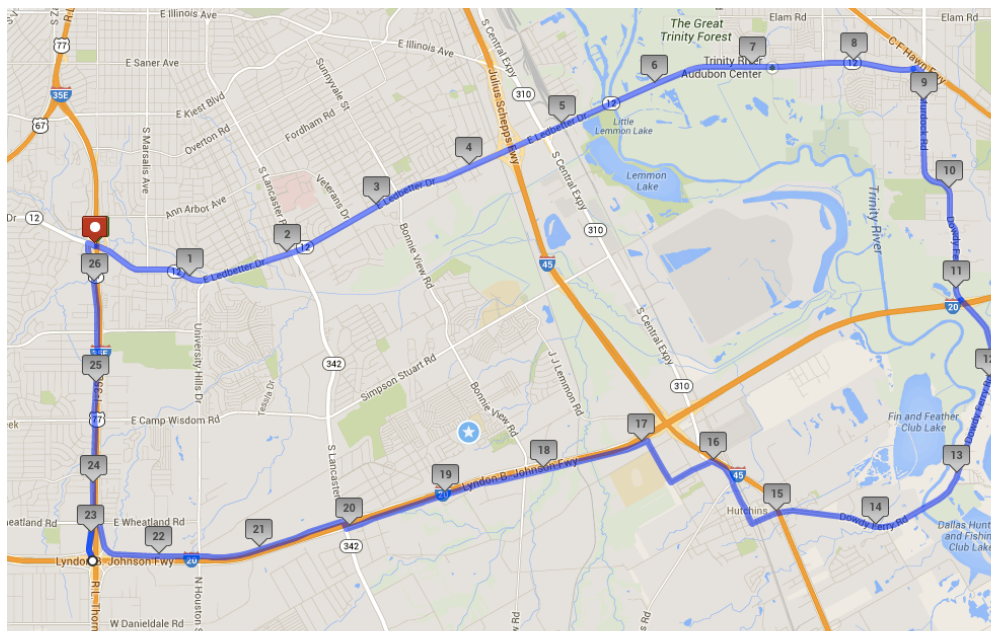
### ***Where is Highland Hills?: Defining the scope of our study***

A literature review did not reveal definitive boundaries of the Highland Hills community. Therefore, we asked participants to define the boundaries of the neighborhood. Participants seemed to agree on the northern and southern boundaries of Highland Hills, reporting that the neighborhood is bounded by I-20 to the south and Ledbetter Road to the north. However, there seemed to be disagreement over the eastern and western boundaries. One community member in the third focus group defined the neighborhood narrowly, bounded by University Road to the west and I-45 to the east (see Figure 2). Another community member in the same focus group defined the area more broadly, spanning from I-35 to the west to Trinity River on the east (see Figure 3).

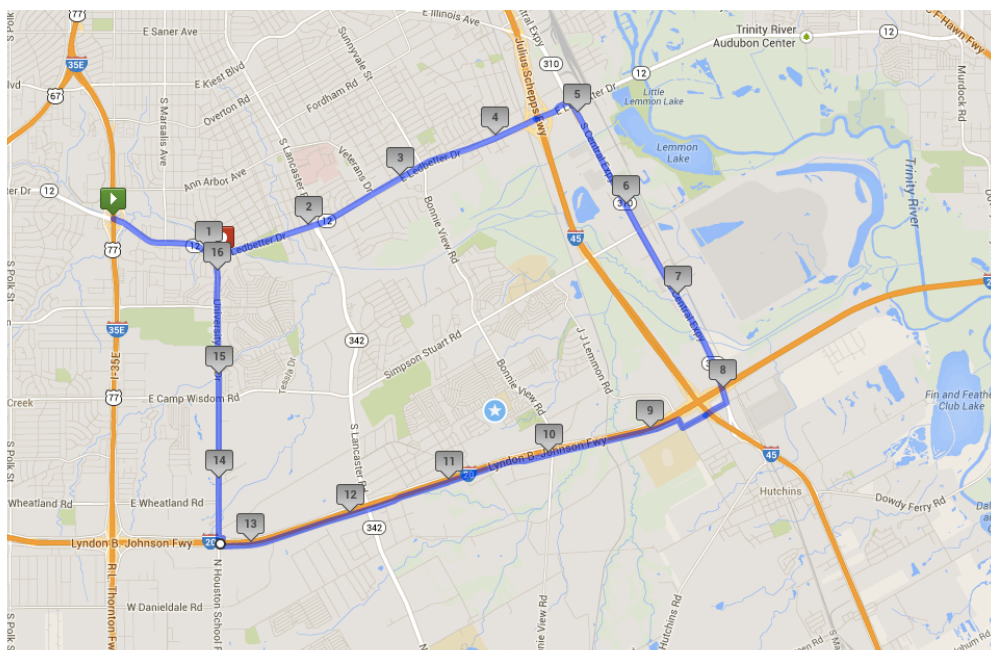
**Figure 1. Map of Dallas, TX 75241 Zip Code (for comparison)**



**Figure 2. Map of Highland Hills Neighborhood, Broad Boundaries**



**Figure 3. Map of Highland Hills, Narrow Boundaries**



***Focus Group Theme 1: Community Demographics***

Participants in the first focus group described Highland Hills as a “community in transition.” What was once a thriving, black middle-class neighborhood has become less

affluent over time. Paul Quinn College faculty and staff observed that there has been an exodus of residents over time and an increase in crime rates, which they attributed to the closing of Bishop College.<sup>3</sup> Now, Highland Hills has a “generation gap” with mostly older residents and some younger residents. In terms of socioeconomic status, Paul Quinn College faculty and staff in the first focus group noted that a number of residents are on Section 8 housing assistance and food stamps. However, one community member in the fourth focus group asserted, “There is a mistaken notion is that this is a low-income community when actually it’s really working class to retiree.”

In terms of racial makeup of the neighborhood, one community member in the fourth focus group described Highland Hills as, “predominantly African American, some Hispanic, and a smattering of white.” Another community member in the same focus group added, “It’s mostly minority and a few Caucasian, and most of the Caucasian ones are original homeowners, so they’re the older crowd... The Hispanic population is increasing very, very fast.” Thus, Highland Hills’ residents are primarily people of color.

### ***Focus Group Theme 2: Describing the Physical Environment***

When asked to describe the physical environment around Highland Hills, nearly all participants emphasized the beauty of the landscape. Several pointed to the rolling hills and bountiful greenery, while others described the serenity of the neighborhood. One student in the fifth focus group said she appreciated that she could see the stars. While many valued the pastoral nature Highland Hills, some viewed this as a sign of underdevelopment.

Interestingly, in three different focus groups, when our research team asked

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<sup>3</sup> Bishop College closed in 1988 amidst a financial scandal. The campus was sold and became home to Paul Quinn College in 1990.

participants to describe the environment of Highland Hills, participants quickly shifted from describing the environment to discussing the need for economic development. For example, in the third focus group, one community member said, “The environmental beauty is primarily the number one [asset]. There are a lot of people in this area – all of the education around here, everybody has to drive north to a job.... That’s the killer. We don’t get the economic benefit down south.”

Similarly, in the fourth focus group, one community member stated, “There’s a lot of green space and it’s really beautiful out here. And it’s not congested but it is very much under-developed as far as offerings. Even to just be able to go somewhere for lunch let alone a grocery store. Those are some of the reasons why I think people don’t want to move out here.” Finally, in the second focus group, one community supporter described physical environment in Highland Hills, highlighting the contrast between Northern and Southern Dallas:

[F]rom a natural standpoint, it’s the best part of Dallas, because it has hills, and you can see downtown....The terrain – it’s more varied here. It’s more flat in other areas. So I think just in terms of beauty, it’s more, it’s predominantly undeveloped.... Northern Dallas is almost completely developed.... It is so dramatic, the difference in the development. The Southern area is largely undeveloped.

This pattern of shifting focus from the natural environment to economic development suggests some interesting implications. First, it could be inferred that economic development is a more pressing issue for community members than environmental quality. However, it could also be inferred that participants view their environment broadly and do not separate the natural characteristics from economic well-being.

### ***Focus Group Theme 3: Describing the Built Environment***

Compared with their views of the physical environment, participants' views of the built environment were less positive overall. Participants described a lack of well-maintained infrastructure, including roads, sidewalks, and streetlights. One community member in the third focus group explained, "[A]s you drive around, you'll notice that the infrastructure is not in place out here. No sidewalks and things like that. It's difficult to really walk. Well, we really have nowhere to walk to. Post office, and they want to close that down...." Across all focus groups, participants noted a lack of sufficient development and an over-abundance of undesirable land uses.

Participants reported a number of undesirable land uses in or near Highland Hills: warehouses, a landfill, a prison, pawn shops, check cashing services, vacant homes, and an overabundance of vacant land. In addition, Paul Quinn College faculty and staff in the first focus group identified a notorious corner near Family Dollar and the convenience store where illegal activity takes place. One community supporter in the second focus group described these features as "things you would associate with poverty." In the third focus group, one community member expressed dissatisfaction with the zoning of Highland Hills. She remarked:

This area has been designated more or less for heavy industry. And I think that's like a slap in the face. We have the prisons right here. They closed the school district that was originally here. Eventually, we had no schools out here for about five years. You understand? But where do we go from here? We can do something better than just having heavy industry.

In addition, participants across all focus groups noted a lack of retail in the neighborhood, contrasting Highland Hills with North Dallas. Two community members, one in the second focus group and one in the fourth focus group, noted that they were

unable to purchase suits or other formal attire in any stores near Highland Hills. One student in the fifth focus group observed that retailers in Highland Hills did not sell *The New York Times*. Participants contrasted the built environment in Highland Hills and other parts of southern Dallas with the northern Dallas. One community member described the lack of economic development in Highland Hills:

There's nothing in this area for us. We always have to leave to go somewhere else. And we don't have a lot of economic development, although they did say that they are going to build a lot of warehouses.... You know, we can compete with Arlington and some of the other places too and build real nice things here too. They've been promising that when they open up UNT-Dallas, we are going to have upscale restaurants, we're going to have grocery stores. I went to the meetings. We don't have anything.

Thus, as this community member illustrates, the promise of economic development in Highland Hills remains unfulfilled.

Because of the lack of economic development in Highland Hills, residents report that they shop for groceries in nearby suburbs. One community member in the fourth focus group remarked, "Cedar Hill [a suburb of Dallas] gets so much of my money, it's not even funny. I should live in Cedar Hill. Because that's where I go for shopping.... They have a Target, a Walmart. They are making so much money. My whole paycheck." Another community member in the fourth focus group observed that as a result of shopping outside of the city, Dallas is losing out on potential tax revenue.

In contrast to the dissatisfaction with economic development, several participants noted the positive presence of churches in Highland Hills. One community member in the second focus group said, "We have a church on every corner." In the same focus group, a community supporter explained that the church presence is essential to preserving African American culture. She stated:



I like that [Highland Hills] has a strong church connection. All of the larger African American churches are here, but just lots of churches period.... I lived in far north Dallas and I would still drive all the way down here to go to church. It's an authentic preserving of our culture, and I think when you move north, you can be with people from the north, but there's something that gets lost....I think there's more of a pride in the culture here, as opposed to feeling a need to assimilate...We are proud to be African American here. We are proud to worship.

Thus, despite the prevalence of undesirable land uses and lack of sufficient economic development, churches seem to be a source of pride for the community.

#### ***Focus Group Theme 4: Food Access***

Across all focus groups, participants emphasized the lack of access to healthy and affordable food in Highland Hills. Participants were acutely aware that they lived in a food desert. One community member in the third focus group stated, “[W]e can’t get nothing but fast food. Why can’t we get a Jason’s Deli? You know, I mean, we like to eat healthy too. But as long as you continue to travel, and we’re continuing to make money, we don’t really care.” While participants reported shopping in neighboring communities, they noted that many stores are strained by the additional traffic. For instance, two community members in the fourth focus group reported that the Wal-Mart in Wheatland, which they frequent, is dirty, overcrowded, and not well stocked.

While participants agreed food access is a major issue in Highland Hills, they differed in how to address the food access issue. On the one hand, Paul Quinn College students and one community supporter advocated for community gardens, but several community members were opposed to this idea. In the fifth focus group, one student believed that Highland Hills could capitalize off its existing assets to improve food access: “[Highland Hills] doesn’t have to be like those other areas, but maybe taking some of the things that

we do have—I mean, Highland Hills, you know, we have hills! We do have land, and we can cultivate it, like we did with the [Paul Quinn College] farm....”

Similarly, in the third focus group, a community supporter suggested turning the neighborhood’s vacant land into cropland, which would employ people and provide food. Immediately, this suggestion created tension within the third focus group. A community member responded, “It’s not going to happen.” A second community member echoed this sentiment, saying, “That’s not the solution.” The first community member explained, “We need more retail, we need more housing.” These community members seemed offended by the idea that their community could not attract a grocery store, but would be asked to grow its own food. Another community member in the third focus group expressed different reservations about growing food in the area. He reported, “Grocery stores [in Highland Hills] used to burn boxes...Not only did they burn boxes, they burned metal, they burned something else... And then you grow vegetables in it...you’re poisoning people with the vegetables.” Thus, soil quality was of great concern.



**The site of the EZ Store, formerly the only grocery store in Highland Hills, now closed. Image from Google Street View.**

While community members generally agreed that Highland Hills needs a proper grocery store, the community has been unsuccessful in attracting one. A community

member in the third focus group described his struggle to redevelop the site of the EZ Store, formerly the only grocery store in Highland Hills. He reported that the city has tentatively approved a new building, and he had contacted several grocery store chains, but none were interested in developing there. When asked about the lack of interest, he explained that the companies perceive crime to be high, and “[t]hey think they can’t make their money.” This community member asserted that students could play a leadership role in attracting businesses to Highland Hills. He said, “[The students] need to convince companies that there is a market here worth developing, because that’s what you’re fighting against.”

#### ***Focus Group Theme 5: Differing Visions of Development***

In addition to food access, participants across all focus groups pointed to a lack of economic development in Highland Hills, though they expressed somewhat different visions of development. In the second focus group, a community supporter discussed a desire for mixed-income development. She stated:

We don’t need any more affordable housing. Everything we have here is affordable housing. We need some unaffordable housing so that the neighborhood can be a healthy mix. But they love to say that and make it sound like it’s a great thing. You know, we just want people to have nice houses. It just kills me. It’s disappointing because it recycles poverty.

Similarly, two community members in the third focus group supported building a gated community in Highland Hills to attract people to the neighborhood.

On the other hand, some Paul Quinn College students expressed reservations about the pace and type of development. One student in the fifth focus group said, “I don’t want to see the people being pushed away. I would like to help them out so they can sustain themselves and so they can better themselves and not just push them

somewhere else and make them somebody else's problem." Other students expressed a desire to build upon the assets and culture the Highland Hills community already possesses. One student pointed to Oak Cliff as a prime example of a community that is thriving without necessarily replicating North Dallas. Similarly, another student advocated for gradual change in Highland Hills, with Paul Quinn as a facilitator:

When I think about change, I really think about a realistic change—a change that I can really manufacture. You know, the school itself going out into the community, making them aware of what's going on...kind of extending the invitation to come on campus... We should put the spotlight on some of their leaders, and some of the councilmen responsible for getting some of these funds allocated, to try to get some of these resources and build a community to where it should be.

Thus, this student and others envision a kind of development that builds off of what the Highland Hills community already possesses.

As for examples of successful development, one community supporter in the second focus group pointed to the Cedars neighborhood in South Dallas as model for mixed-income development. She reported that a Canadian developer began building up the neighborhood in South Dallas fifteen years ago, and today it is thriving. This community member explained:

It took a foreigner who didn't have all this Dallas baggage to come in ...He built a ten-story condo, the tallest building that's been built in Southern Dallas in decades....I would say that [Southern Dallas] should be marketed with the approach that Jack had: I'm going to put this and this and this here, and watch it flourish. Because it will. And in our neighborhood, we managed to mix as multiracial. It's different levels of incomes. There's artists, there's business people, there's singers. But it would take that type of thinking, which is, no Dallas baggage-type thinking.

Thus, this community supporter notes that a major barrier to development is the reputation of the Southern Dallas, but believes that successful development is possible.

### ***Focus Group Theme 6: Environmental Amenities and Disamenities***

Throughout the focus groups, participants identified a number of environmental amenities and disamenities, which are summarized in Table 3 (below). The two most emphasized assets were the natural landscape of Highland Hills, and the proximity of Paul Quinn College, the only HBCU in Dallas, and UNT-Dallas, the only public four-year university in Dallas. Some participants also highlighted the sense of community activism, while others emphasized the strong sense of identity rooted in their church community.

In terms of disamenities, participants overwhelmingly stressed the lack of development and lack of access to healthy food in particular. Participants reported that several studies demonstrated that the community could not support retail, let alone a grocery store. However, participants argued that demand is not an issue: they do shop for groceries, but they must leave Highland Hills to do so. One community member in the fourth focus group observed that retired homeowners have a fair amount of disposable income to spend.

**Table 3. Summary of Environmental Amenities and Disamenities Identified in Focus Groups by Prevalence, Based on NVivo Analysis**

Environmental Amenities Identified	Environmental Disamenities Identified
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Beautiful landscape – greenery, rolling hills</li><li>• Quiet, serene</li><li>• Only HBCU and 4-year public university in same neighborhood</li><li>• Potential for development</li><li>• Churches</li><li>• Sense of community</li><li>• Proximity to major freeways and downtown</li><li>• Safety</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Lack of food access</li><li>• Lack of development and retail</li><li>• Reputation/branding</li><li>• Check cashing, pawn shops</li><li>• Stray dogs</li><li>• Vacant houses</li><li>• Lack of local job opportunities</li><li>• Lack of infrastructure – streetlights, sidewalks</li><li>• Landfill</li><li>• Crime</li></ul>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Community center</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Lack of effective political representation</li> <li>Illegal dumping</li> <li>Prostitution, sex offenders</li> </ul>
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## FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION

Overall, participants were in agreement in identifying environmental amenities and disamenities in Highland Hills and their relative importance to the community. Where they differed, however, was in their prescriptions for change. Participants cited the natural landscape and the proximity of higher education institutions as the greatest assets of Highland Hills. On the other hand, the most prevalent disamenities participants identified were the lack of development and lack of access to healthy food. Contrary to our initial assumptions, crime did not appear to be a major concern for the community. In fact, stray dogs seemed to be more of a safety threat for two participants. Moreover, the McCommas Bluff Landfill and its associated pollution were hardly mentioned across all focus groups. Only the Paul Quinn College students mentioned the landfill. At first glance, this finding would suggest that environmental quality is not as great of a concern for the community as economic development. In fact, we were surprised by the pastoral landscape we encountered in Highland Hills, which we had assumed would be more urban. It is possible that the landfill is an invisible problem. Perhaps, then, economic development appears to be a more visible and urgent need for the community than combating pollution. On the other hand, some people we spoke with suggested that the community had been divided over the proposed flow control measure in 2011. Perhaps the controversy surrounding the landfill resulted in participants not discussing it.

Despite consensus over identifying issues, participants disagreed over how these

issues should be addressed. For instance, some community members and supporters advocated for “unaffordable” housing and high-end retail to attract newcomers to Highland Hills. Several Paul Quinn College students, however, preferred a more modest approach to development, focusing first on employment opportunities. In terms of food access especially, participants differed in their preferred approaches. One community supporter and a number of Paul Quinn College students supported community gardens. However, two community members were adamantly opposed to farming and making the neighborhood more rural. They preferred more conventional grocery stores or a Wal-Mart instead. Resolving these differences would likely be difficult.

As we discovered through the focus groups, there appears to be some tension between the Highland Hills and Paul Quinn College communities. Further, many community members are distrustful of perceived outsiders to the community, particularly researchers. Several participants in the focus groups voiced concern that they were being used for research purposes but never received the benefits of this research. Among community members, there was generally agreement that there have been enough studies on Highland Hills, and that they need a strategic plan to attract developers to the neighborhood.

Further research should include specific demographic groups within the Highland Hills population that were not represented in these focus groups. Most adult participants in this study owned cars, were homeowners, and were employed, and all young people were college students. This indicates that our data may be lacking the perspective of retirees, young people who are not college students, and unemployed people. As one community member in the third focus group noted, “All of us in this room – we aren’t the

people who are really heavily impacted [by these issues] in this area. We are just people who they interact with. We can come to this table and put this on the table for you.”

Inevitably, development in Highland Hills will have unintended consequences. How might new development change the physical landscape and community character that participants valued so greatly? Further studies should examine potential implications of different development pathways, particularly with regards to gentrification and environmental sustainability, and the community’s tolerance for change.

### **PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION METHODS**

In addition to analyzing focus group data, we employed participant observation methods to explore environmental amenities and disamenities Highland Hills. Here, we explain our use of the participant observation method, present our results, and analyze our findings.

According to Bodgan (1973), participant observation is a qualitative research method that is “characterized by a prolonged period of contact with subjects in the place in which they normally spend their time.” In using participant observation methods, researchers intend to gain a holistic understanding of complex social relationships and institutions by seeing the subjects’ world as they understand it (Bodgan, 1973). We chose to use participant observation in our study to gain a deeper understanding of the Highland Hills community as residents see it.

As we were conducting our second focus group, a community member invited us to the Highland Hills Liaison Community Association meeting. Two members of our research team, Dr. Gallagher and Danielle Purifoy, attended the meeting, which took place on Monday, October 14, 2013 at the South Central Police Station, and they



recorded what occurred.

### **PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION RESULTS**

The Highland Hills Liaison Community Association meeting reinforced some findings from our focus groups, and shed light on some different issues facing the Highland Hills community. During the meeting, Officer Tommie Runnels reviewed the neighborhood's recent crime statistics. As several of our focus group participants said, and Officer Runnels confirmed, the crime rates in Highland Hills are lower than the neighborhood's reputation would suggest.

Interestingly, the meeting focused on waste issues. Illegal dumping on vacant properties is a problem in Highland Hills, and as a result, they have formed an Illegal Dumping Task Force. Some residents are hesitant to report illegal dumping for fear of retaliation. The sites are not cleaned up if there is no water account on the property. Thus, cleaning up illegal dumping remains challenging, though one potential solution emerged from the meeting. Mr. Erik Wilson, who is affiliated with the Community Development Division of the City of Dallas, discussed a range of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) Community Block Grants, and community members expressed interest in the neighborhood cleanup grant.

Another speaker at the meeting was Mr. Willis Winters, the new Director of Parks and Recreation for the City of Dallas. Mr. Winters emphasized that "equity is an important goal" for the Parks and Recreation Department, and reported that Highland Hills will soon have a new water park behind the Police Substation. He added that the water park would be smaller and cost less than those in the suburbs. In addition, Mr. Winters shared his goal of planting twenty-thousand to fifty-thousand trees per year in

Highland Hills. However, some community members seemed skeptical of this idea, given the amount of trees in Highland Hills already. Finally, Mr. Winters discussed the new Singing Hills Recreation Center that will be built in Highland Hills. Once the final funds are secured, the recreation center is expected to be the largest of its kind in Dallas.

### **PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION DISCUSSION**

Overall, the Highland Hills Liaison Community Association meeting reinforced several themes that emerged from our focus groups. First, crime is perceived to be a greater problem in Highland Hills than it is in actuality. Second, it seemed from the meeting that community members are actively engaged in issues impacting their lives and take pride in their community. Finally, the insider-outsider mentality that we researchers encountered in our focus groups seemed to persist in the community meeting.

Participants seemed to react to Mr. Winters, an older white man who was not a resident of Highland Hills, with more skepticism than they did the facilitator, Mr. McGill. In addition, the meeting shed light on illegal dumping on vacant lots, an issue that was not raised in our focus groups. Though challenging, community members were seeking solutions to solve the problem.

### **CONCLUSION**

In this master's project, I sought to examine environmental amenities and disamenities within the Highland Hills neighborhood by using focus groups and participant observation research techniques. Initially, I hypothesized that the Highland Hills neighborhood is an environmental justice hotspot, but that the community possesses a bounty of environmental amenities. In addition, I hypothesized that Paul Quinn College can act as an environmental leader within the Highland Hills community. My data

confirmed both the first and second hypotheses: Highland Hills has a variety of environmental disamenities, but it also has a plethora of environmental amenities. As for the third hypothesis, my research indicated that Paul Quinn College has begun to invoke environmental leadership, but the College will need to work through some tensions with the Highland Hills community and build trust in order to effect change. Paul Quinn College can play a strategic role in the future, convening community leaders, developers, and Dallas decision-makers.

This master's project represents the first phase in a multi-phase research partnership between the Nicholas School of the Environment at Duke University and Paul Quinn College. Here, I will outline the next steps in the joint research project. The research team, led by Dr. Gallagher, will return to Dallas during the summer of 2014. In mid-May, the research team will present the results from the focus groups in community meetings in Highland Hills, and the community members' feedback will be recorded. In late May, a team of Duke undergraduates and Paul Quinn undergraduates, under the supervision of Dr. Gallagher, Dr. Vidra, and Danielle Purifoy, will undertake a community photovoice project and create a short documentary. For the photovoice project, the undergraduate researchers will invite community members to photograph Highland Hills and respond to questions related to the environment and well-being. The undergraduate researchers will meet with the community partner photographers to discuss their photographs, and the conversations will be recorded and used in later phases of the project. In addition, the undergraduate researchers will create a short documentary about the current state of the environment in Highland Hills and its connection to community members' well-being.

In June, the research team will hold an event to showcase the photovoice exhibit and screen the short documentary. The team intends to attract Highland Hills community members, as well as political leaders, philanthropists, and artists from the Dallas area, and to educate them about the strengths, challenges, and opportunities in Highland Hills. Finally, in the fall of 2014, Dr. Gallagher and Dr. Vidra, along with faculty from Paul Quinn College, will hold a semester-long study for eight Duke undergraduates and eight Paul Quinn undergraduates. At the end of the semester, students will present their ideas for social entrepreneurship ventures that focus on the intersection between the environment, development, and community well-being.

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## **APPENDICES**

## Appendix A

### Focus Group Questions

1. Where do you live in South Dallas?
2. How long have you lived or worked in the Highland Hills Community?
3. How would you describe the physical environment of Highland Hills generally?
4. Describe what is located around where you live/work in Highland Hills.
5. How do you feel about what is located around you?
6. What is unique about the environment where you live/work in Highland Hills?
7. What, if anything, would you change about your surroundings?
8. What is your favorite outside activity in Highland Hills?
9. How does the environment in Highland Hills compare to the environment in other Dallas communities you've visited or lived in?
10. Finish this sentence: The biggest environmental challenge facing South Dallas today is \_\_\_\_\_.
11. Finish this sentence: The biggest environmental asset in Highland Hills today is\_\_\_\_\_.
12. How would you describe the racial/ethnic make-up of the Highland Hills community?
13. How would you describe the Highland Hills community in terms of class or income?
14. How would you describe the Highland Hills community's level of local activism?
15. Name the major employers in Highland Hills.
16. How do you travel through Highland Hills?
17. What modes of transportation are available for you to travel through Highland Hills?
18. How safe is it to travel through Highland Hills?
19. What, if anything, would you change about transportation in Highland Hills?
20. List your grocery shopping options in Highland Hills.
21. Where do you most often shop for groceries in Highland Hills?
22. How far do you live/work from your nearest grocery store in Highland Hills?
23. How far do you live from the grocery store where you shop most often in Highland Hills?
24. Describe the quality of the grocery stores in Highland Hills.
25. How do you access the grocery stores in Highland Hills?
26. If you eat out, where do you generally go?
27. List the main restaurant choices in Highland Hills.
28. How do you feel about your grocery food choices in Highland Hills?
29. How do you feel about your restaurant choices in Highland Hills?
30. Of all of the things we talked about today, what is the most important to you?





**Appendix B: Respondent Letter**

[Date]

Dear [Potential Respondent's Name]:

We are a group of researchers at Duke University's Nicholas School of the Environment. We have received funding from the Wells Fargo Foundation and Duke University to develop methods by which Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) and their surrounding communities can use their leadership and other resources to address existing and potential environmental challenges and to maximize the impact of environmental benefits. We will be conducting our pilot study in South Dallas in partnership with Paul Quinn College, a small HBCU located in the Highland Hills neighborhood.

We will be conducting focus groups with a range of people in Highland Hills to discuss their views and opinions about environmental challenges and benefits in Highland Hills, and how they would like to see their community develop in the future. Our ultimate goal is to be able to identify common responses and strategies across these communities and to present them as a resource for future community planning and grassroots leadership and activism by Paul Quinn College, and community-based organizations and individual activists in Highland Hills.

We are seeking input from multiple groups in Highland Hills—faculty and students of Paul Quinn College, community activists, business owners, government officials, and interested residents in each of our information gathering phases. Our research indicates that you belong to one of these groups.

We would like you to join a focus group on October \_\_\_\_, 2013 to discuss your experiences in Highland Hills, and your views and opinions about your community and its environmental challenges and benefits. If you are willing to participate, please either contact Victoria Wilson of Paul Quinn College by phone (214-379-5515) or email ([vwilson@pqc.edu](mailto:vwilson@pqc.edu)) or return the self-addressed RSVP to the address given. If you have any questions about this research, please contact the study's project director, Dr. Deborah Gallagher at 919-613-8138, or [deb.gallagher@duke.edu](mailto:deb.gallagher@duke.edu).

We look forward to meeting with you.

Sincerely,

Dr. Deborah Gallagher, Ph.D  
Project Manager



**Appendix C: Consent Form**

**Leveraging HBCU Leadership and Community Assets  
to Improve Environmental Health: A Pilot Study in Dallas, TX**

**PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM**

**What is the aim of the study?**

This study seeks to develop methods by which Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) and their surrounding communities can use their leadership and other resources to address existing and potential environmental problems and to maximize the impact of environmental benefits. We will be conducting our pilot study in South Dallas in partnership with Paul Quinn College, a small HBCU located in the Highland Hills neighborhood.

We will conduct focus groups to gather information from a wide range of people about their views and opinions about environmental burdens and benefits in Highland Hills, and how they would like to see this community develop in the future. Our ultimate goal is to be able to identify common responses and strategies across these groups and to present them as a resource for future community planning and grassroots leadership and activism by Paul Quinn College, and community-based organizations and individual activists in Highland Hills and South Dallas.

**How was I chosen to participate?**

We are seeking input from multiple groups in Highland Hills—faculty and students of Paul Quinn College, community activists, business owners, government officials, and interested residents. You were chosen because you belong to one of the above-mentioned categories.

**What will be involved in participating?**

You will be involved in one focus group, which will last approximately 1.5 hours, discussing a series of questions about the South Dallas community with other individuals in a specified group (e.g. Paul Quinn faculty and students, business owners, etc.)

**Who will know what I say?**

Only our staff will have access to the transcripts. Statements published from the focus groups will remain anonymous.

**What risks and benefits are associated with participation?**

We do not see any risks involved in participating in our study. Benefits are that your knowledge and insights about Highland Hills may be used to recommend improvements in public policies, planning, and business practices.

**What are my rights as a participant?**

You may ask any questions regarding the research and they will be answered fully. You may withdraw from the study at any time. Your participation is voluntary.

**What will be published?**

We will make our findings known through presentations at conferences, publications, and a website.

**If I want more information, whom can I contact about the study?**

You may contact the Duke University Institutional Review Board through the Office of Research Support at Duke University, Durham, North Carolina at (919) 684-3030 or <http://www.ors.duke.edu/>. You may also contact Dr. Gallagher, the study's director at (919) 613-8138 or [deb.gallagher@duke.edu](mailto:deb.gallagher@duke.edu).

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Respondent, date

## Appendix D: NVivo Coding Summary

3/15/2014 2:30 PM

### Coding Summary By Node

Master's Project

3/15/2014 2:30 PM

Aggregate	Classification	Coverage	Number Of Coding References	Reference Number	Coded By Initials	Modified On
Node						
Nodes\\Characteristics of the Environment\\Amenities						
Document						
Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 5 Transcription						
No		0.0007	10			
				1	CEO	3/15/2014 1:02 PM
park						
				2	CEO	3/15/2014 1:02 PM
parked						
				3	CEO	3/15/2014 1:48 PM
quiet						
				4	CEO	3/15/2014 1:48 PM
quiet						
				5	CEO	3/15/2014 1:02 PM
park						
				6	CEO	3/15/2014 1:02 PM
park						
				7	CEO	3/15/2014 1:02 PM
parks						

park	8	CEO	3/15/2014 1:02 PM
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quiet	9	CEO	3/15/2014 1:48 PM
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3/15/2014 2:3

Aggregate	Classification	Coverage	Number Of Coding References	Reference Number	Coded By Initials	Modified On
park				10	CEO	3/15/2014 1:02 PM

#### PDF

#### Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 1 Notes

No	0.0032	4				
quiet				1	CEO	3/15/2014 1:48 PM
parks				2	CEO	3/15/2014 1:02 PM
park				3	CEO	3/15/2014 1:02 PM
Park				4	CEO	3/15/2014 1:02 PM

#### Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 2

No	0.0009	11
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park	1	CEO	3/15/2014 1:02 PM
parks	2	CEO	3/15/2014 1:02 PM
parks	3	CEO	3/15/2014 1:02 PM
parks	4	CEO	3/15/2014 1:02 PM
parks	5	CEO	3/15/2014 1:02 PM
parks	6	CEO	3/15/2014 1:02 PM

Reports\\Coding Summary By Node Report

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Aggregate	Classification	Coverage	Number Of Coding References	Reference Number	Coded By Initials	Modified On
parks				7	CEO	3/15/2014 1:02 PM
parks				8	CEO	3/15/2014 1:02 PM
Park				9	CEO	3/15/2014 1:02 PM
parks				10	CEO	3/15/2014 1:02 PM
parks				11	CEO	3/15/2014 1:02 PM

Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 3 Notes\_Deb and Rebecca

No		0.0003	6			
				1	CEO	3/15/2014 1:46 PM
trees						
				2	CEO	3/15/2014 1:02 PM
parks						
				3	CEO	3/15/2014 1:02 PM
parking						
				4	CEO	3/15/2014 1:02 PM
parking						
				5	CEO	3/15/2014 1:48 PM
quiet						
				6	CEO	3/15/2014 1:48 PM
quiet						

**Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 4 Transcription**

No		0.0276	16			
				1	CEO	3/15/2014 1:47 PM
foliage						

Aggregate	Classification	Coverage	Number Of Coding References	Reference Number	Coded By Initials	Modified On
				2	CEO	3/15/2014 1:46 PM
trees						
				3	CEO	3/15/2014 1:47 PM
foliage						
				4	CEO	3/15/2014 1:46 PM
trees						

quiet	5	CEO	3/15/2014 1:48 PM
quiet	6	CEO	3/15/2014 1:48 PM
quiet	7	CEO	3/15/2014 1:48 PM
P1: I think the fact that you've got a college and a university in proximity to one another. Um, and, you know, potentially, I think the college and university – the fact that you've got homes that have children, you've got public schools in this area. The development, however slowly it's going, of the inland port in this area. Uh, I think those are the unique features of the area. ius	8	CEO	3/15/2014 2:07 PM
P1: I say making the distinction between communities in some of these areas...I live in College Park area, which is just a little bit south of here a few miles. Um, but I lived here for 25 years before I moved out in 2007 or so. And I think you're right that for the most part, we knew who our neighbors were and watched after one another's children and so forth, so you did have, while you're not crime-free, you do have people who watch out for your houses or know who's committing the crime or whatnot. All of that – and your children grow up together, so you don't know a neighbor or something, they know them. So you have that component here. P2: It's a sense of security. Which is not what people think of when they think of Southern Dallas. They don't think of security, but there very much is a sense of security. Because I know I get looked at when I roll through at 9 o'clock at night. But now they kn	9	CEO	3/15/2014 2:08 PM
Park	10	CEO	3/15/2014 1:02 PM
Park	11	CEO	3/15/2014 1:02 PM
Park	12	CEO	3/15/2014 1:02 PM
Park	13	CEO	3/15/2014 1:02 PM
Park	14	CEO	3/15/2014 1:02 PM

Aggregate	Classification	Coverage	Number Of Coding References	Reference Number	Coded By Initials	Modified On
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Park	15	CEO	3/15/2014 1:02 PM
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parking	16	CEO	3/15/2014 1:02 PM
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## Nodes\\Characteristics of the Environment\\Disamenities

### Document

#### Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 5 Transcription

No	0.0004	3	
landfill	1	CEO	3/5/2014 4:04 PM
landfill	2	CEO	3/5/2014 4:04 PM
landfill	3	CEO	3/5/2014 4:04 PM

### PDF

#### Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 1 Notes

No	0.0040	4	
crime	1	CEO	3/15/2014 1:49 PM
landfill	2	CEO	3/5/2014 4:04 PM
dogs	3	CEO	3/15/2014 1:03 PM

3/15/2014 2:3

Aggregate	Classification	Coverage	Number Of Coding References	Reference Number	Coded By Initials	Modified On
				4	CEO	3/15/2014 1:49 PM
	crime					
<b>Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 2</b>						
No		0.0013	16			
				1	CEO	3/15/2014 1:49 PM
	crime					
				2	CEO	3/15/2014 1:03 PM
	dogs					
				3	CEO	3/15/2014 1:03 PM
	dogs					
				4	CEO	3/15/2014 1:03 PM
	dogs					
				5	CEO	3/15/2014 1:03 PM
	dogs					
				6	CEO	3/15/2014 1:03 PM
	dogs					
				7	CEO	3/15/2014 1:03 PM
	dogs					
				8	CEO	3/15/2014 1:03 PM
	dogs					
				9	CEO	3/15/2014 1:03 PM

dogs

10

CEO

3/15/2014 1:03 PM

dogs

11

CEO

3/15/2014 1:49 PM

crime

12

CEO

3/15/2014 1:03 PM

dogs

13

CEO

3/15/2014 1:44 PM

vacant

Reports\\Coding Summary By Node Report

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Aggregate	Classification	Coverage	Number Of Coding References	Reference Number	Coded By Initials	Modified On
				14	CEO	3/5/2014 4:07 PM
	prisons					
				15	CEO	3/5/2014 4:05 PM
	dump					
				16	CEO	3/5/2014 4:05 PM
	dumps					

Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 3 Notes\_Deb and Rebecca

No

0.0007

12

1

CEO

3/5/2014 4:07 PM

prisons

2

CEO

3/15/2014 1:44 PM

vacant

3

CEO

3/5/2014 4:04 PM

landfill

4

CEO

3/15/2014 1:44 PM

vacant

5

CEO

3/15/2014 1:44 PM

vacant

6

CEO

3/15/2014 1:44 PM

vacant

7

CEO

3/5/2014 4:05 PM

dump

8

CEO

3/15/2014 1:49 PM

crime

9

CEO

3/15/2014 1:44 PM

vacant

10

CEO

3/15/2014 1:49 PM

Crime

11

CEO

3/15/2014 1:49 PM

Crime

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Aggregate	Classification	Coverage	Number Of Coding References	Reference Number	Coded By Initials	Modified On
-----------	----------------	----------	-----------------------------------	---------------------	----------------------	-------------

12

CEO

3/15/2014 1:44 PM

vacant

Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 4 Transcription

No

0.0100

5

1

CEO

3/15/2014 1:49 PM

crime

2

CEO

3/15/2014 1:49 PM

crime

3

CEO

3/15/2014 2:08 PM

P2: The reputation. I think if we were to remove that reputation, things would change dramatically. And I know that that doesn't happen overnight, but I really wish we could do something that change that reputation, get people to come out here and see what is here, and value it for what it is, not for what they've heard or what the media puts out or what the newspaper says. Because ~~mean, there's crime everywhere. Everywhere. But unfortunately, you mostly see the issues that are in this area.~~

	4	CEO	3/5/2014 4:04 PM
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landfill

	5	CEO	3/5/2014 4:04 PM
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landfill

## Nodes\\Characteristics of the Environment\\Environment

### Document

#### Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 5 Transcription

No	0.0016	9
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	1	CEO	3/5/2014 4:03 PM
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environment

	2	CEO	3/5/2014 4:03 PM
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environment

	3	CEO	3/5/2014 4:03 PM
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environment

## Reports\\Coding Summary By Node Report

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Aggregate	Classification	Coverage	Number Of Coding References	Reference Number	Coded By Initials	Modified On
				4	CEO	3/5/2014 4:03 PM
	environment					
				5	CEO	3/5/2014 4:03 PM
	environment					

environment	6	CEO	3/5/2014 4:03 PM
environment	7	CEO	3/5/2014 4:03 PM
environment	8	CEO	3/5/2014 4:03 PM
environment	9	CEO	3/5/2014 4:03 PM

#### PDF

#### Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 2

No	0.0012	6	
environment	1	CEO	3/5/2014 4:03 PM
environment	2	CEO	3/5/2014 4:03 PM
environment	3	CEO	3/5/2014 4:03 PM
environment	4	CEO	3/5/2014 4:03 PM
environment	5	CEO	3/5/2014 4:03 PM
environment	6	CEO	3/5/2014 4:03 PM

Aggregate	Classification	Coverage	Number Of Coding References	Reference Number	Coded By Initials	Modified On
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## Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 3 Notes\_Deb and Rebecca

No		0.0003	3			
				1	CEO	3/5/2014 4:03 PM
environment						
				2	CEO	3/5/2014 4:03 PM
environment						
				3	CEO	3/5/2014 4:03 PM
environment						

## Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 4 Transcription

No		0.0008	4			
				1	CEO	3/5/2014 4:03 PM
environment						
				2	CEO	3/5/2014 4:03 PM
environment						
				3	CEO	3/5/2014 4:03 PM
environment						
				4	CEO	3/5/2014 4:03 PM
environment						

## Nodes\\Community Demographics\\Age

## Document

## Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 5 Transcription

No	0.0017	14			
			1	CEO	3/15/2014 2:01 PM
Students					
			2	CEO	3/15/2014 2:01 PM
students					

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Aggregate	Classification	Coverage	Number Of Coding References	Reference Number	Coded By Initials	Modified On
				3	CEO	3/15/2014 2:01 PM
	students					
				4	CEO	3/15/2014 2:01 PM
	student					
				5	CEO	3/15/2014 2:01 PM
	student					
				6	CEO	3/15/2014 2:01 PM
	student					
				7	CEO	3/15/2014 2:01 PM
	students					
				8	CEO	3/15/2014 2:01 PM
	students					
				9	CEO	3/15/2014 2:01 PM
	student					
				10	CEO	3/15/2014 2:01 PM
	student					
				11	CEO	3/15/2014 2:01 PM
	student					
				12	CEO	3/15/2014 2:01 PM



student

	13	CEO	3/15/2014 2:01 PM
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students

	14	CEO	3/15/2014 2:01 PM
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students

3/15/2014 2:3

Aggregate	Classification	Coverage	Number Of Coding References	Reference Number	Coded By Initials	Modified On
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PDF

Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 1 Notes

No	0.0029	2
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1	CEO	3/15/2014 2:01 PM
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Students

2	CEO	3/15/2014 2:01 PM
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Students

Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 2

No	0.0004	3
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1	CEO	3/15/2014 2:01 PM
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student

students	2	CEO	3/15/2014 2:01 PM
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students	3	CEO	3/15/2014 2:01 PM
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Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 3 Notes\_Deb and Rebecca

No	0.0012	14	
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students	1	CEO	3/15/2014 2:01 PM
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students	2	CEO	3/15/2014 2:01 PM
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students	3	CEO	3/15/2014 2:01 PM
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students	4	CEO	3/15/2014 2:01 PM
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students	5	CEO	3/15/2014 2:01 PM
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Aggregate	Classification	Coverage	Number Of Coding References	Reference Number	Coded By Initials	Modified On
students			6	CEO	3/15/2014 2:01 PM	
students			7	CEO	3/15/2014 2:01 PM	
students			8	CEO	3/15/2014 2:01 PM	

students	9	CEO	3/15/2014 2:01 PM
student	10	CEO	3/15/2014 2:01 PM
students	11	CEO	3/15/2014 2:01 PM
students	12	CEO	3/15/2014 2:01 PM
students	13	CEO	3/15/2014 2:01 PM
students	14	CEO	3/15/2014 2:01 PM

#### Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 4 Transcription

No	0.0163	11			
retiree	1	CEO	3/5/2014 4:16 PM		
students	2	CEO	3/15/2014 2:01 PM		
retired	3	CEO	3/5/2014 4:15 PM		
student	4	CEO	3/15/2014 2:01 PM		
students	5	CEO	3/15/2014 2:01 PM		

Aggregate	Classification	Coverage	Number Of Coding References	Reference Number	Coded By Initials	Modified On
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student	6	CEO	3/15/2014 2:01 PM
students	7	CEO	3/15/2014 2:01 PM
P2: It's very diverse, and I'm not just talking about race, because aside from that, you have a lot. As P1 said, you have families, you have older people that are retired, you have same sex couples. It's just a big melting pot, whereas other parts of Dallas have been planned, it's like, there's only families there with young kids or it's only seniors. So that's one of the things I like about it, is the eclectic mix that you have here that you don't see in other places, because they're planned and not organic. And here it's organic. P1: You know, we lived here for 25 years. We raised our family here. And there are others here who have been here longer, so	8	CEO	3/15/2014 2:03 PM
retiree	9	CEO	3/5/2014 4:16 PM
students	10	CEO	3/15/2014 2:01 PM
retired	11	CEO	3/5/2014 4:15 PM

## Nodes\\Community Demographics\\Income

### Document

#### Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 5 Transcription

No	0.0000	1			
			1	CEO	3/5/2014 4:00 PM
poor					

### PDF

#### Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 1 Notes

No	0.0020	2
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	1	CEO	3/5/2014 4:01 PM
middle			

Reports\\Coding Summary By Node Report

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Aggregate	Classification	Coverage	Number Of Coding References	Reference Number	Coded By Initials	Modified On
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	2	CEO	3/5/2014 4:01 PM
class			

Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 2

No	0.0012	11
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	1	CEO	3/5/2014 4:01 PM
middle			

	2	CEO	3/5/2014 4:01 PM
Middle			

	3	CEO	3/5/2014 4:00 PM
poverty			

	4	CEO	3/5/2014 4:02 PM
wealthy			

	5	CEO	3/5/2014 4:01 PM
middle			

	6	CEO	3/5/2014 4:01 PM
class			

	7	CEO	3/5/2014 4:13 PM
income			

	8	CEO	3/5/2014 4:01 PM
middle			

	9	CEO	3/5/2014 4:01 PM
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class

	10	CEO	3/5/2014 4:13 PM
income			
	11	CEO	3/5/2014 4:00 PM
poverty			

Reports\\Coding Summary By Node Report

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Aggregate	Classification	Coverage	Number Of Coding References	Reference Number	Coded By Initials	Modified On
Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 3 Notes_Deb and Rebecca						
No		0.0003	5			
				1	CEO	3/5/2014 4:01 PM
middle						
				2	CEO	3/5/2014 4:13 PM
income						
				3	CEO	3/5/2014 4:00 PM
poverty						
				4	CEO	3/5/2014 4:00 PM
poverty						
				5	CEO	3/5/2014 4:00 PM
poor						

Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 4 Transcription

No		0.0027	27			
				1	CEO	3/5/2014 4:01 PM

class			
	2	CEO	3/5/2014 4:01 PM
middle			
	3	CEO	3/5/2014 4:01 PM
class			
	4	CEO	3/5/2014 4:13 PM
income			
	5	CEO	3/5/2014 4:01 PM
class			
	6	CEO	3/5/2014 4:01 PM
middle			
	7	CEO	3/5/2014 4:01 PM
class			
	8	CEO	3/5/2014 4:01 PM
class			

Reports\\Coding Summary By Node Report

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Aggregate	Classification	Coverage	Number Of Coding References	Reference Number	Coded By Initials	Modified On
				9	CEO	3/5/2014 4:01 PM
	class					
				10	CEO	3/5/2014 4:13 PM
	income					
				11	CEO	3/5/2014 4:02 PM
	rich					
				12	CEO	3/5/2014 4:02 PM
	wealth					
				13	CEO	3/5/2014 4:00 PM
	poor					

middle	14	CEO	3/5/2014 4:01 PM
class	15	CEO	3/5/2014 4:01 PM
middle	16	CEO	3/5/2014 4:01 PM
middle	17	CEO	3/5/2014 4:01 PM
class	18	CEO	3/5/2014 4:01 PM
class	19	CEO	3/5/2014 4:01 PM
income	20	CEO	3/5/2014 4:13 PM
class	21	CEO	3/5/2014 4:01 PM
income	22	CEO	3/5/2014 4:13 PM
class	23	CEO	3/5/2014 4:01 PM

Aggregate	Classification	Coverage	Number Of Coding References	Reference Number	Coded By Initials	Modified On
income				24	CEO	3/5/2014 4:13 PM
income				25	CEO	3/5/2014 4:13 PM



	26	CEO	3/5/2014 4:01 PM
class			
	27	CEO	3/5/2014 4:13 PM
income			

#### Nodes\\Community Demographics\\Race-ethnicity

##### Document

##### Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 5 Transcription

No	0.0001	2			
			1	CEO	3/5/2014 4:12 PM
white					
		2		CEO	3/5/2014 4:12 PM
White					

##### PDF

##### Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 1 Notes

No	0.0036	3			
			1	CEO	3/5/2014 4:10 PM
African					
		2		CEO	3/5/2014 4:10 PM
American					

Aggregate	Classification	Coverage	Number Of Coding References	Reference Number	Coded By Initials	Modified On
				3	CEO	3/5/2014 4:12 PM
	White					
<b>Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 2</b>						
No		0.0021	16			
				1	CEO	3/5/2014 4:10 PM
	American					
				2	CEO	3/5/2014 4:12 PM
	white					
				3	CEO	3/5/2014 4:12 PM
	white					
				4	CEO	3/5/2014 4:10 PM
	racial					
				5	CEO	3/5/2014 4:10 PM
	African					
				6	CEO	3/5/2014 4:10 PM
	American					
				7	CEO	3/5/2014 4:11 PM
	Hispanic					
				8	CEO	3/5/2014 4:10 PM
	African					
				9	CEO	3/5/2014 4:10 PM
	American					
				10	CEO	3/5/2014 4:11 PM
	Hispanic					
				11	CEO	3/5/2014 4:10 PM

African

12

CEO

3/5/2014 4:10 PM

American

13

CEO

3/5/2014 4:10 PM

African

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Aggregate	Classification	Coverage	Number Of Coding References	Reference Number	Coded By Initials	Modified On
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14

CEO

3/5/2014 4:10 PM

American

15

CEO

3/5/2014 4:10 PM

African

16

CEO

3/5/2014 4:10 PM

American

Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 3 Notes\_Deb and Rebecca

No

0.0000

1

1

CEO

3/5/2014 4:11 PM

Hispanic

Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 4 Transcription

No

0.0015

11

1

CEO

3/5/2014 4:09 PM

race

2

CEO

3/5/2014 4:10 PM

racial

3

CEO

3/5/2014 4:10 PM

African

American	4	CEO	3/5/2014 4:10 PM
Hispanic	5	CEO	3/5/2014 4:11 PM
white	6	CEO	3/5/2014 4:12 PM
Hispanic	7	CEO	3/5/2014 4:11 PM
Hispanic	8	CEO	3/5/2014 4:11 PM

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Aggregate	Classification	Coverage	Number Of Coding References	Reference Number	Coded By Initials	Modified On
	Caucasian			9	CEO	3/5/2014 4:12 PM
	Caucasian			10	CEO	3/5/2014 4:12 PM
	Hispanic			11	CEO	3/5/2014 4:11 PM

Nodes\\Community Demographics\\Religion

Document

Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 5 Transcription

No	0.0008	7
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religions	1	CEO	3/15/2014 1:58 PM
religions	2	CEO	3/15/2014 1:58 PM
churches	3	CEO	3/15/2014 1:59 PM
church	4	CEO	3/15/2014 1:59 PM
church	5	CEO	3/15/2014 1:59 PM
church	6	CEO	3/15/2014 1:59 PM
church	7	CEO	3/15/2014 1:59 PM

Aggregate	Classification	Coverage	Number Of Coding References	Reference Number	Coded By Initials	Modified On
PDF						
Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 1 Notes						
No		0.0014	1			
				1	CEO	3/15/2014 1:59 PM
Churches						

Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 2

No	0.0014	11			
			1	CEO	3/15/2014 1:59 PM
church					
			2	CEO	3/15/2014 1:59 PM
churches					
			3	CEO	3/15/2014 1:59 PM
churches					
			4	CEO	3/15/2014 1:59 PM
church					
			5	CEO	3/15/2014 1:59 PM
church					
			6	CEO	3/15/2014 1:59 PM
churches					
			7	CEO	3/15/2014 1:59 PM
church					
			8	CEO	3/15/2014 1:59 PM
churched					
			9	CEO	3/15/2014 1:59 PM
church					
			10	CEO	3/15/2014 1:58 PM
religious					

Aggregate	Classification	Coverage	Number Of Coding References	Reference Number	Coded By Initials	Modified On
				11	CEO	3/15/2014 1:59 PM

church

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**Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 3 Notes\_Deb and Rebecca**

No		0.0001	2			
				1	CEO	3/15/2014 1:59 PM

church

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				2	CEO	3/15/2014 1:59 PM
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church

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**Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 4 Transcription**

No		0.0003	2			
				1	CEO	3/15/2014 1:59 PM

churches

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				2	CEO	3/15/2014 1:59 PM
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churches

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**Nodes\\Economic development\\Economic development**

**Document**

**Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 5 Transcription**

No		0.0039	24			
				1	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM

development

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				2	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
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development

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				3	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
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Development

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Aggregate	Classification	Coverage	Number Of Coding References	Reference Number	Coded By Initials	Modified On
				4	CEO	3/5/2014 3:57 PM
	developed					
				5	CEO	3/5/2014 3:57 PM
	developing					
				6	CEO	3/5/2014 3:57 PM
	developing					
				7	CEO	3/5/2014 3:57 PM
	develop					
				8	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
	development					
				9	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
	development					
				10	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
	economic					
				11	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
	development					
				12	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
	development					
				13	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
	development					
				14	CEO	3/5/2014 3:57 PM
	Develop					
				15	CEO	3/5/2014 3:57 PM



develop

16

CEO

3/5/2014 3:57 PM

develop

17

CEO

3/5/2014 3:58 PM

development

18

CEO

3/5/2014 3:57 PM

develop

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Aggregate	Classification	Coverage	Number Of Coding References	Reference Number	Coded By Initials	Modified On
				19	CEO	3/5/2014 3:57 PM
	developments			20	CEO	3/5/2014 3:57 PM
	developed			21	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
	development			22	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
	development			23	CEO	3/5/2014 3:57 PM
	developing			24	CEO	3/5/2014 3:57 PM
	developing					

PDF

Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 1 Notes

No	0.0034	2			
			1	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
economic					
			2	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
development					

**Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 2**

No	0.0037	22			
			1	CEO	3/5/2014 3:57 PM
develop					
			2	CEO	3/5/2014 3:57 PM
develop					
			3	CEO	3/5/2014 3:57 PM
developed					

Aggregate	Classification	Coverage	Number Of Coding References	Reference Number	Coded By Initials	Modified On
				4	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
	development					
				5	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
	economic					
				6	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
	development					
				7	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
	development					
				8	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
	development					

develop	9	CEO	3/5/2014 3:57 PM
develop	10	CEO	3/5/2014 3:57 PM
development	11	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
developed	12	CEO	3/5/2014 3:57 PM
development	13	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
develop	14	CEO	3/5/2014 3:57 PM
developed	15	CEO	3/5/2014 3:57 PM
developed	16	CEO	3/5/2014 3:57 PM
develop	17	CEO	3/5/2014 3:57 PM
developing	18	CEO	3/5/2014 3:57 PM

Aggregate	Classification	Coverage	Number Of Coding References	Reference Number	Coded By Initials	Modified On
	developer			19	CEO	3/5/2014 3:57 PM
	development			20	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM

	21	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
development			

	22	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
development			

**Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 3 Notes\_Deb and Rebecca**

No	0.0056	53			
			1	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
development					
			2	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
economic					
			3	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
development					
			4	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
economic					
			5	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
development					
			6	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
development					
			7	CEO	3/5/2014 3:57 PM
develop					
			8	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
development					
			9	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
development					
			10	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
economic					

Aggregate	Classification	Coverage	Number Of Coding References	Reference Number	Coded By Initials	Modified On
				11	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
	development					
				12	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
	development					
				13	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
	economic					
				14	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
	development					
				15	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
	economic					
				16	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
	development					
				17	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
	economic					
				18	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
	development					
				19	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
	development					
				20	CEO	3/5/2014 3:57 PM
	develop					
				21	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
	development					
				22	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
	economic					
				23	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
	development					

economic	24	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
development	25	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM

Aggregate	Classification	Coverage	Number Of Coding References	Reference Number	Coded By Initials	Modified On
economic				26	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
development				27	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
development				28	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
development				29	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
development				30	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
developing				31	CEO	3/5/2014 3:57 PM
economic				32	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
economic				33	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
development				34	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
economic				35	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM

development	36	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
economic	37	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
development	38	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
development	39	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
developer	40	CEO	3/5/2014 3:57 PM

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Aggregate	Classification	Coverage	Number Of Coding References	Reference Number	Coded By Initials	Modified On
	developing			41	CEO	3/5/2014 3:57 PM
	developing			42	CEO	3/5/2014 3:57 PM
	developer			43	CEO	3/5/2014 3:57 PM
	development			44	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
	development			45	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
	economic			46	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
	developed			47	CEO	3/5/2014 3:57 PM

develop	48	CEO	3/5/2014 3:57 PM
develop	49	CEO	3/5/2014 3:57 PM
developed	50	CEO	3/5/2014 3:57 PM
development	51	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
development	52	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
development	53	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM

**Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 4 Transcription**

No	0.0053	29	
developed	1	CEO	3/5/2014 3:57 PM

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Aggregate	Classification	Coverage	Number Of Coding References	Reference Number	Coded By Initials	Modified On
	development			2	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
	development			3	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
	economic			4	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
	development			5	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM



developers	6	CEO	3/5/2014 3:57 PM
economic	7	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
development	8	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
economic	9	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
development	10	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
development	11	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
developer	12	CEO	3/5/2014 3:57 PM
development	13	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
develops	14	CEO	3/5/2014 3:57 PM
economic	15	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
development	16	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM

Aggregate	Classification	Coverage	Number Of Coding References	Reference Number	Coded By Initials	Modified On
Economic				17	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM

development	18	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
economic	19	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
development	20	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
economic	21	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
economic	22	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
development	23	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
economic	24	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
development	25	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
economic	26	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
development	27	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
economic	28	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM
development	29	CEO	3/5/2014 3:58 PM

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Aggregate	Classification	Coverage	Number Of Coding References	Reference Number	Coded By Initials	Modified On
Nodes\\Food Access\\Food						
Document						
Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 5 Transcription						
No		0.0012	14			
				1	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
store						
				2	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
grocery						
				3	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
store						
				4	CEO	3/15/2014 1:50 PM
farm						
				5	CEO	3/15/2014 1:50 PM
farm						
				6	CEO	3/5/2014 3:56 PM
food						
				7	CEO	3/5/2014 3:56 PM
food						
				8	CEO	3/15/2014 1:52 PM
restaurant						
				9	CEO	3/15/2014 1:52 PM
restaurant						

food	10	CEO	3/5/2014 3:56 PM
food	11	CEO	3/5/2014 3:56 PM
farm	12	CEO	3/15/2014 1:50 PM
farm	13	CEO	3/15/2014 1:50 PM

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Aggregate	Classification	Coverage	Number Of Coding References	Reference Number	Coded By Initials	Modified On
				14	CEO	3/5/2014 3:56 PM
	food					

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Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 1 Notes

No	0.0038	4				
			1	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM	
						grocery
			2	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM	
						store
			3	CEO	3/5/2014 3:56 PM	
						food
			4	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM	
						store

Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 2

No	0.0031	29			
			1	CEO	3/5/2014 3:56 PM
food					
			2	CEO	3/5/2014 3:56 PM
food					
			3	CEO	3/5/2014 3:56 PM
Foods					
			4	CEO	3/5/2014 3:56 PM
food					
			5	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
grocery					
			6	CEO	3/5/2014 3:56 PM
food					

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Aggregate	Classification	Coverage	Number Of Coding References	Reference Number	Coded By Initials	Modified On
				7	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
grocery						
				8	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
store						
				9	CEO	3/5/2014 3:56 PM
Foods						
				10	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
grocery						
				11	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
grocery						

grocery	12	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
grocery	13	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
grocery	14	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
grocery	15	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
store	16	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
grocery	17	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
store	18	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
grocery	19	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
store	20	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
grocery	21	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM

Aggregate	Classification	Coverage	Number Of Coding References	Reference Number	Coded By Initials	Modified On
	store			22	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
	grocery			23	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM

store	24	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
grocery	25	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
store	26	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
food	27	CEO	3/5/2014 3:56 PM
grocery	28	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
store	29	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM

#### Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 3 Notes\_Deb and Rebecca

No	0.0035	60			
grocery	1	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM		
store	2	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM		
grocery	3	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM		
store	4	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM		
food	5	CEO	3/5/2014 3:56 PM		
grocery	6	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM		

Aggregate	Classification	Coverage	Number Of Coding References	Reference Number	Coded By Initials	Modified On
	store			7	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
	grocery			8	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
	store			9	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
	store			10	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
	grocery			11	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
	store			12	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
	food			13	CEO	3/5/2014 3:56 PM
	food			14	CEO	3/5/2014 3:56 PM
	grocery			15	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
	store			16	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
	food			17	CEO	3/5/2014 3:56 PM
	food			18	CEO	3/5/2014 3:56 PM
	food			19	CEO	3/5/2014 3:56 PM



food	20	CEO	3/5/2014 3:56 PM
food	21	CEO	3/5/2014 3:56 PM

Aggregate	Classification	Coverage	Number Of Coding References	Reference Number	Coded By Initials	Modified On
food				22	CEO	3/5/2014 3:56 PM
grocery				23	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
food				24	CEO	3/5/2014 3:56 PM
food				25	CEO	3/5/2014 3:56 PM
grocery				26	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
grocery				27	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
store				28	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
grocery				29	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
store				30	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
grocery				31	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM

restaurant	32	CEO	3/15/2014 1:52 PM
grocery	33	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
store	34	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
restaurant	35	CEO	3/15/2014 1:52 PM
food	36	CEO	3/5/2014 3:56 PM

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Aggregate	Classification	Coverage	Number Of Coding References	Reference Number	Coded By Initials	Modified On
	grocery			37	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
	store			38	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
	grocery			39	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
	grocery			40	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
	store			41	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
	food			42	CEO	3/5/2014 3:56 PM
	food			43	CEO	3/5/2014 3:56 PM

restaurant	44	CEO	3/15/2014 1:52 PM
food	45	CEO	3/5/2014 3:56 PM
food	46	CEO	3/5/2014 3:56 PM
food	47	CEO	3/5/2014 3:56 PM
farm	48	CEO	3/15/2014 1:50 PM
food	49	CEO	3/5/2014 3:56 PM
food	50	CEO	3/5/2014 3:56 PM
store	51	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM

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Aggregate	Classification	Coverage	Number Of Coding References	Reference Number	Coded By Initials	Modified On
	grocery			52	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
	store			53	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
	store			54	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
	store			55	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM

food	56	CEO	3/5/2014 3:56 PM
food	57	CEO	3/5/2014 3:56 PM
store	58	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
food	59	CEO	3/5/2014 3:56 PM
food	60	CEO	3/5/2014 3:56 PM

Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 4 Transcription

No	0.0018	18	
grocery	1	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
store	2	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
food	3	CEO	3/5/2014 3:56 PM
grocery	4	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
store	5	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM

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Aggregate	Classification	Coverage	Number Of Coding References	Reference Number	Coded By Initials	Modified On
	grocery		6		CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM

store	7	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
farm	8	CEO	3/15/2014 1:50 PM
grocery	9	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
food	10	CEO	3/5/2014 3:56 PM
grocery	11	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
farm	12	CEO	3/15/2014 1:50 PM
grocery	13	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
grocery	14	CEO	3/15/2014 1:51 PM
food	15	CEO	3/5/2014 3:56 PM
food	16	CEO	3/5/2014 3:56 PM
food	17	CEO	3/5/2014 3:56 PM
Foods	18	CEO	3/5/2014 3:56 PM

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Aggregate	Classification	Coverage	Number Of Coding References	Reference Number	Coded By Initials	Modified On
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## Nodes\\Infrastructure\\Infrastructure

## Document

## Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 5 Transcription

No		0.0011	6			
				1	CEO	3/15/2014 2:25 PM
infrastructure						
				2	CEO	3/15/2014 2:11 PM
light						
				3	CEO	3/15/2014 2:25 PM
infrastructure						
				4	CEO	3/15/2014 2:25 PM
infrastructure						
				5	CEO	3/15/2014 2:11 PM
lights						
				6	CEO	3/15/2014 2:25 PM
infrastructure						

## PDF

## Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 1 Notes

No		0.0016	1
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	1	CEO	3/15/2014 2:12 PM
sidewalks			

Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 2

No	0.0006	6	
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	1	CEO	3/15/2014 2:11 PM
lights			

	2	CEO	3/15/2014 2:11 PM
lights			

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Aggregate	Classification	Coverage	Number Of Coding References	Reference Number	Coded By Initials	Modified On
				3	CEO	3/15/2014 2:11 PM
	lights					
				4	CEO	3/15/2014 2:11 PM
	light					
				5	CEO	3/15/2014 2:11 PM
	light					
				6	CEO	3/15/2014 2:11 PM
	light					

Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 3 Notes\_Deb and Rebecca

No	0.0007	5	
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	1	CEO	3/15/2014 2:25 PM
infrastructure			

	2	CEO	3/15/2014 2:25 PM
infrastructure			

	3	CEO	3/15/2014 2:25 PM
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infrastructure

4

CEO

3/15/2014 2:12 PM

sidewalks

5

CEO

3/15/2014 2:25 PM

infrastructure

## Nodes\\Transportation\\Transportation

### Document

#### Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 5 Transcription

No

0.0022

25

1

CEO

3/15/2014 2:11 PM

driving

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Aggregate	Classification	Coverage	Number Of Coding References	Reference Number	Coded By Initials	Modified On
				2	CEO	3/15/2014 2:10 PM
	cars					
				3	CEO	3/15/2014 2:06 PM
	walk					
				4	CEO	3/15/2014 2:06 PM
	walking					
				5	CEO	3/15/2014 2:10 PM
	car					
				6	CEO	3/15/2014 2:06 PM
	walking					



walking	7	CEO	3/15/2014 2:06 PM
walk	8	CEO	3/15/2014 2:06 PM
walking	9	CEO	3/15/2014 2:06 PM
walking	10	CEO	3/15/2014 2:06 PM
walk	11	CEO	3/15/2014 2:06 PM
walk	12	CEO	3/15/2014 2:06 PM
driving	13	CEO	3/15/2014 2:11 PM
walk	14	CEO	3/15/2014 2:06 PM
walk	15	CEO	3/15/2014 2:06 PM
walk	16	CEO	3/15/2014 2:06 PM

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Aggregate	Classification	Coverage	Number Of Coding References	Reference Number	Coded By Initials	Modified On
car				17	CEO	3/15/2014 2:10 PM
cars				18	CEO	3/15/2014 2:10 PM

cars	19	CEO	3/15/2014 2:10 PM
bus	20	CEO	3/15/2014 2:09 PM
cars	21	CEO	3/15/2014 2:10 PM
transportation	22	CEO	3/15/2014 2:04 PM
walked	23	CEO	3/15/2014 2:06 PM
car	24	CEO	3/15/2014 2:10 PM
drive	25	CEO	3/15/2014 2:11 PM

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### Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 1 Notes

No	0.0058	6	
cars	1	CEO	3/15/2014 2:10 PM
Walking	2	CEO	3/15/2014 2:06 PM
walk	3	CEO	3/15/2014 2:06 PM

Aggregate	Classification	Coverage	Number Of Coding References	Reference Number	Coded By Initials	Modified On
	walking			4	CEO	3/15/2014 2:06 PM
	car			5	CEO	3/15/2014 2:10 PM
	walking			6	CEO	3/15/2014 2:06 PM
<b>Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 2</b>						
No		0.0011	8			
	driving			1	CEO	3/15/2014 2:11 PM
	walk			2	CEO	3/15/2014 2:06 PM
	walking			3	CEO	3/15/2014 2:06 PM
	walk			4	CEO	3/15/2014 2:06 PM
	drive			5	CEO	3/15/2014 2:11 PM
	transportation			6	CEO	3/15/2014 2:04 PM
	transportation			7	CEO	3/15/2014 2:04 PM
	drive			8	CEO	3/15/2014 2:11 PM

No 0.0011 21

1 CEO 3/15/2014 2:11 PM  
drive

3/15/2014 2:3

Aggregate	Classification	Coverage	Number Of Coding References	Reference Number	Coded By Initials	Modified On
				2	CEO	3/15/2014 2:11 PM
	driving					
				3	CEO	3/15/2014 2:10 PM
	car					
				4	CEO	3/15/2014 2:11 PM
	drive					
				5	CEO	3/15/2014 2:11 PM
	drive					
				6	CEO	3/15/2014 2:06 PM
	walk					
				7	CEO	3/15/2014 2:06 PM
	walk					
				8	CEO	3/15/2014 2:09 PM
	bus					
				9	CEO	3/15/2014 2:10 PM
	cars					
				10	CEO	3/15/2014 2:06 PM
	walk					
				11	CEO	3/15/2014 2:04 PM
	transportation					

rail	12	CEO	3/15/2014 2:05 PM
bus	13	CEO	3/15/2014 2:09 PM
bus	14	CEO	3/15/2014 2:09 PM
bus	15	CEO	3/15/2014 2:09 PM
bus	16	CEO	3/15/2014 2:09 PM

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Aggregate	Classification	Coverage	Number Of Coding References	Reference Number	Coded By Initials	Modified On
walk				17	CEO	3/15/2014 2:06 PM
drive				18	CEO	3/15/2014 2:11 PM
walk				19	CEO	3/15/2014 2:06 PM
walk				20	CEO	3/15/2014 2:06 PM
transportation				21	CEO	3/15/2014 2:04 PM

Internals\\Focus Group Transcriptions\\Focus Group 4 Transcription

No	0.0028	22			
			1	CEO	3/15/2014 2:11 PM

drive

2

CEO

3/15/2014 2:10 PM

car

3

CEO

3/15/2014 2:11 PM

drive

4

CEO

3/15/2014 2:06 PM

walks

5

CEO

3/15/2014 2:06 PM

walks

6

CEO

3/15/2014 2:04 PM

transportation

7

CEO

3/15/2014 2:11 PM

Drive

8

CEO

3/15/2014 2:11 PM

drive

9

CEO

3/15/2014 2:05 PM

rail

Reports\\Coding Summary By Node Report

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Aggregate	Classification	Coverage	Number Of Coding References	Reference Number	Coded By Initials	Modified On
				10	CEO	3/15/2014 2:09 PM
	bus					
				11	CEO	3/15/2014 2:05 PM
	rail					
				12	CEO	3/15/2014 2:04 PM
	transportation					
				13	CEO	3/15/2014 2:05 PM
	rail					

bus	14	CEO	3/15/2014 2:09 PM
transportation	15	CEO	3/15/2014 2:04 PM
drive	16	CEO	3/15/2014 2:11 PM
drive	17	CEO	3/15/2014 2:11 PM
driving	18	CEO	3/15/2014 2:11 PM
transportation	19	CEO	3/15/2014 2:04 PM
transportation	20	CEO	3/15/2014 2:04 PM
drive	21	CEO	3/15/2014 2:11 PM
drive	22	CEO	3/15/2014 2:11 PM